*423 654 These are extreme cases but everywhere it is true that during the last century, continuity of tenure has not been enough in itself to produce land improvement.

*423 427 A variety of forms of tenure exists in the Islands. Emphyteutical leases, which must be documented, are legally all such that extend for a term longer than 16 years and have the proper content and conditions. On Crown land a period of 99 years has been favoured, but leases of 30 and 60 years are also found. The essence of such leases lies in their emphasis on tenant improvement of the land and on compensation for premature dispossession. Some of the implications of the official encouragement of emphyteusis have already been examined. In general the system is based on the supposition that the lease is long enough to reward the tenant for his development work, and that the land has been improved to a level at which short-term leases - first offered to the emphyteuta's heirs - become feasible.

Other leases are generally based on a four-year rotational cycle, in its turn based on the duration of the effects of intensive manuring on 'dry' land. Entry is normally on 15th August, in the 'dead' period of the year, and the most popular lease is for a duration of eight years with an option for renewal for a further similar term. On expiration the land is usually held on a yearly basis until a new satisfactory settlement is reached. Provisions for repairs usually divide responsibility between tenant and landlord on the basis of the scale of work and capital needed, the tenant being always responsible for wells and cisterns. Water derived from the holding should only be used thereon but in practice this is ignored. Regulation of husbandry is rarely mentioned except in general terms. Unless specifically revoked, legal provision exists for the remission of rents in the event of naturally caused crop-failure, although we have no knowledge of such a claim being made in recent years. After the flood damage of the autumn of 1957, the appeals were solely for Governmental aid.

The problem of compensation for improvement or for dispossession has in Malta as in other countries given rise to much disputation. Unless agreed by the landlord, any improvements to short-leased land can only be indirectly recovered either by removing impermanent fixtures or by the incoming tenant paying for items such as recent manuring or tillage. In the latter case, both parties regard the transaction in the light of a hand-over charge rather than as formal compensation.

Before 1940, the short-lease tenant had little legal security of continuity of tenure. On the termination of a lease the sitting tenant had preferential rights to renewal only if he were prepared to accept conditions equally or more onerous than would other applicants, provided the courts held these conditions to be reasonable. Such preference was negated if the land was needed by an owner or cousin or nearer relation of the owner. Theoretically, therefore, the ability of the tenant-farmer to resist rent increases or to prevent loss of investment was very limited. Wartime Emergency Regulations resulted in the creation of a special Board to consider problems of tenure where leases were shorter than for 16 years. Since that time preferential rights of renewal have been extended to cover immediate relations of a deceased tenant or to the equivalent of 'copyholders'. Rent increases must not be based on any increase in value accruing from any type of improvement, and their reasonableness is adjudged by comparable neighbouring rents. Greater freedom was afforded in sub-letting to a co-tenant or relation while the landlord's personal or family claim on land has now to be justified on the basis of a minimum four year use.

*423 311 427 The combination of short leases and absence of compensation for improvement has been held at one time or another to be responsible for virtually all the ills and defects of Maltese farming from a reluctance to plant tree-crops to the poorness of many local track and access roads. As with the relationship between freehold tenure and intensity of land use, such arguments are not fundamentally valid. Where physical economic conditions provide incentive to investment and improvement then the cultivator generally responds, no matter

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

what type of lease. However, many of the minor variations in land use which exist as between adjacent fields or parts of fields can be partially explained on the basis of their legal position. Thus the wasteland of il-Wiliga in the Wied tal-Pwales reflects both physical deterioration and a tenurial conflict. But, as may be observed throughout the regional and distributional studies in this volume, the patterns observable in Maltese farming are resultants of many forces and influences, in which the legal element plays a very minor part.

A third type of tenure, that of share-cropping, appears in some rather specialised forms in the Maltese Islands. Between land-owner and occupier, its main incidence seems to be as a working arrangement between aged parents and their children. Between coevals it appears as a temporary form of sub-letting known as *bin nofs*. Some of the factors influencing the first type have already been examined. In the second case, share-cropping arrangements are a consequence of the growing tendency of farmers to leave the land for short trial periods to seek other employment or to emigrate. As a form of insurance, leased or owned land is then often let temporarily to relatives or friends on the understanding that should the farmer return, his land reverts to him or in the case of the time-limit (usually five years) elapsing before his return, the share-cropper takes over full rights. Although this is of doubtful legality in the case of rented land, landlords do not seem to object. In the north and west of Malta, over 6 per cent. of the cultivated area is held in this way, and the proportion is over 3 per cent. in Gozo. In other areas, share-cropping would seem to be of negligible importance. Because this system appears to be based on expediency, the details of owner-cropper relationship are more variable than in areas where *metayage* is more fully developed as an institution. The provision of land, materials and labour and the division of product vary greatly. One case exists of a whole community working the land under a tenant-in-chief who provides land, seed, manure and some machinery and then claims one-fifth of the value of the crops which he buys back in bulk.

The share-cropping tenures terminate with the death of either party. In all other cases the death of a tenant results in the leasehold becoming part of his divisible estate and liable to fragmentation between the children, all of whom have equal rights of inheritance. The importance of this element in the process of *parcellement* has been regarded as very great, in Malta as elsewhere. Before considering an actual case-study of holding evolution, it is as well to note some of the general points.

First, the family group has strong powers to maintain its hold on land and to exclude others from it. In this they are supported by the action of landlords and by the legal codes as at present framed. On the other hand, little effort is made to prevent sub-division within the family group. Thus no analysis of the process of fragmentation can be made without a full understanding of the nature of the Maltese rural family.

In this chapter, the main elements in the physical and legal entity which constitutes the Maltese farm have been considered. As much as is feasible of the legal and customary background to the farm unit has been considered. In illustration of these points and in order to amplify them, a detailed analysis of the lands of one Maltese family follows. It is appropriate here to record the great kindness, forbearance and co-operation shown by the members of that family without whose considerable assistance such an examination could not have been made.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

423*
173
427
596

It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family.

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 2, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help was given by the *pilkali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day.

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise.

Fig. 139 The Landholdings of a Maltese Family

[p. 308-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

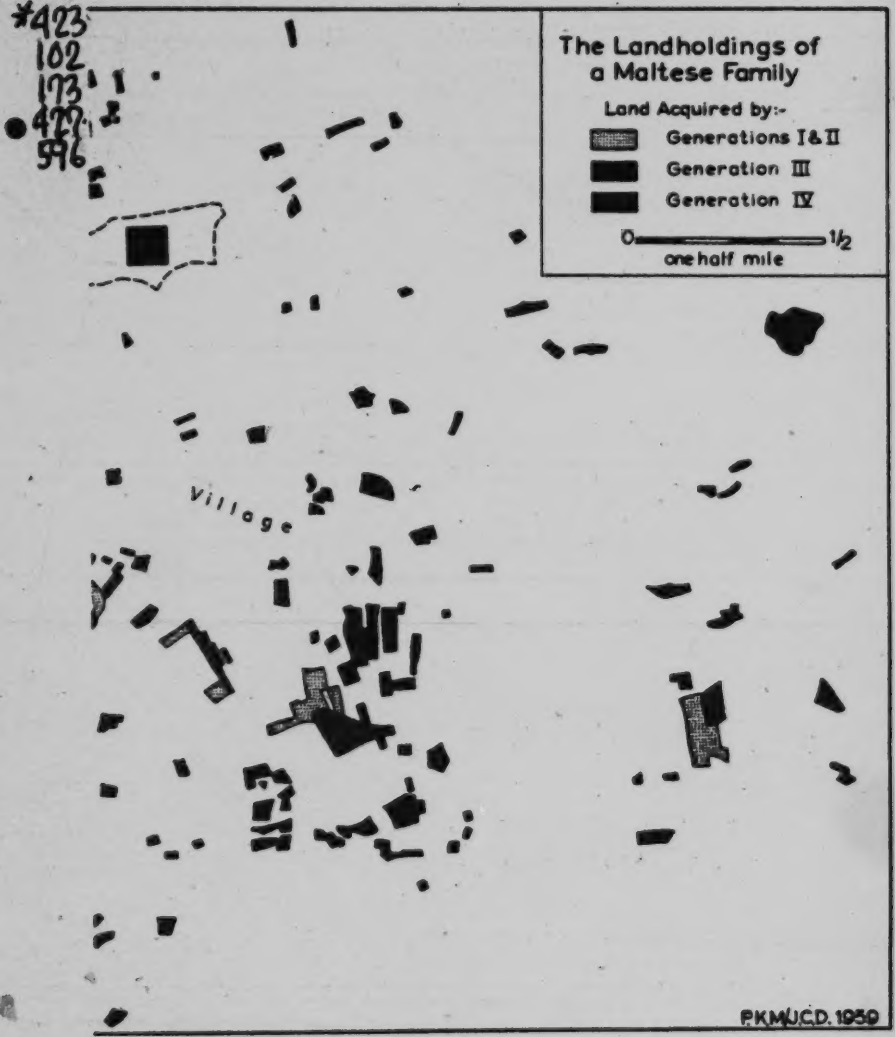

Fig. 139
The Landholdings of a Maltese Family.
[p. 308-B]

*423 173 ●427 596 This valley land, occupied by 0, 4 and 5, was not originally a single continuous plot, for two other tenants occupied land within the perimeter. At some date, the holdings of these tenants were absorbed by the family, for today the whole plot is held by members of groups D and E, the descendants of 4 and 5. It has belonged, throughout, to a single owner and has been held for many years on an annual lease. For many members of the family it still forms the nucleus of their holdings, though each now works a relatively small portion of it.

Probably in 1880, 5 acquired the tenancy of two 4-*tmien* plots of a 29-*tmien* tenement near to this nucleus, on flat land to the east of the valley and the lease was later renewed, on similar terms, to one of 5's sons (54). On termination of the second lease, an increase of rent was mooted, to which 54 could not agree. After five months, no alternative tenant had been found and 54 therefore re-occupied at the old rent. He took two of the six portions into which the 29 *tmien* were divided, intending one for a brother, who however, did not require it. Both portions are retained by 54's descendants.

One year after this re-entry, 5 and his three brothers were approached by the agent to become tenants of another patch of less fertile land (75 *tmien* including rock). The division was uneven, 2 receiving a nominal 1½ *tmien* despite the plot's proximity to his home and other land. 5, perhaps as the principal tenant, acquired a lion's share (33 *tmien*).

The agent's inability to find alternative tenants for the 8 *tmien* of land and his soliciting of the family to occupy the larger plot, seem to indicate a marked

[p. 308-C]

absence of land hunger at this period, 1895 to 1896. Such a situation had probably existed for some years, since there is no information that other land taken over as a new tenancy, again by 5, at the beginning of that decade was 'lying idle'; at the expiration of a long lease. The area concerned was again substantial and 5, unable or unwilling to tackle the whole plot, joined with two brothers from a nearby hamlet in making a successful bid for the tenement. The land, and also the rent which they had jointly agreed to pay, was then sub-divided, local conditions of soil and quality being taken into consideration.

At some time, possibly during this period, the other brothers, 2 and 3, added to the land obtained by marriage at Ghajn Tuffieha (as a new tenancy and with strangers as co-tenants) another 35 *tmien* some two miles to the south-east, close to what is now the parish boundary in that direction. At a later date (c. 1910) 2 and his son, 21, entered on a new tenement of irrigated land in the Wied tal-Pwales to the north of Ghajn Tuffieha. This was immediately divided into two approximately equal portions, of which the father's was eventually shared only amongst his other children.

The land initially acquired by 2 (the founder of group B) from his wife's family was Government land, which was already at that date split into a number of separate plots, but the other lands acquired by this second generation as new tenancies were fairly large blocks of land, averaging 36 *tmien* in area, including the two 4-*tmien* plots of land leased to 5.

It is clear, therefore, that during the 50 years before 1910 quite large blocks of land in northern Malta were coming on to the leasehold market, and that a family without previous rights of any sort in that land could enter on to it, apply sufficient capital and industry to maintain its hold and, within limits, dictate the amount of rent which it was willing to pay for the use of that land. All the land leased for the first time during this period belonged to owners of large private or ecclesiastical estates and some at least had been surrendered on the termination of long leases. There is strong evidence from all branches of the family that all land leased during this period has stayed within the group, though some naturally has passed to daughters on their marriage. The land acquired in the male line by 0 and 2-5 in this early period is mapped at Fig. 139.

This area mapped in Fig. 139 totals 262 *tmien* and was held by the four brothers in the proportions shown in Table 42.

Table 42. Maximum holdings of generation II. *Tmien*.

	Sons of Farmer 0				
	Son 2 (B)	Son 3 (C)	Son 4 (D)	Son 5 (E)	Total
Acquired by marriage	12½	7½	-	-	19½
New tenancies	21½	42½	56½	121½	242½
Total leasehold	34	49½	56½	121½	262
Freehold	-	-	-	-	-
Total area	34	49½	56½	121½	262
No. of non-contiguous plots	?	?	6	6	?

Even at this early stage, there is considerable disparity in the size of holdings, though this would partly disappear if the relative proportions of irrigated and waste land were taken into account. None of the brothers had any significant financial interests outside farming. 2 and 3 seem to have lived at Gnejna Ghajn Tuffieha but the others remained at Mosta, though many week-nights were spent in rooms which they had in a building at the head of the Gnejna valley.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

As the circumstances of land acquisition would indicate, these early holdings were not excessively 'fragmented' but the seeds of later more complex patterns had been set by the lease of non-contiguous properties and the parcellation amongst themselves or with unrelated co-tenants of large tenements newly leased. However, we must remember that, although the male line of the family held no land before c. 1860, this is certainly not true of all the families into which 0's sons and their descendants married. Accordingly, 2's children and the children of later marriages were only partially descended from the landless strain. With the legal right of equality of division of all heritable property regardless of sex, the expectations of later scions would therefore be enhanced. It must also be remembered that all land held by the later descendants of 0, whether acquired by descent through the family, by marriage, new tenancy or purchase, may with equal validity be considered as the land of other families, whose sons and daughters marry into the family which we have chosen to study. It is a valid case of 'gaining a son, not losing a daughter'. In the present (fourth) generation the family is fully integrated into a complex web of relationships within the village. Indeed an informant has remarked that if someone in the village is not related to him, that person must be a stranger and newcomer to the area.

Notwithstanding these considerations, clarity can only be preserved by maintaining the idea of the family as a developing entity in terms of which land is gained, lost or divided. Division is the normal process by which lands may pass in effect into the hands of a single child, though siblings may be entitled to some form of compensation. Division to all the children need not take place at the same time; an elder child may even receive its share while a younger brother is still unborn. In these circumstances, 'shares' cannot be precise, though efforts may be made to re-adjust at a later stage. A share of parental land is normally the first which a young farmer begins to work as his own. If, as is usual, his departure from the family farm was occasioned by marriage, he may also obtain land from his father-in-law, but this is never *his* in the same sense and is only effectively consolidated with the land of his own family when his children, born of that wife, come to work it on their own behalf.

Generation 3

All the brothers of the second generation are now dead, the last having died c. 1936, and their landholdings split up. The pattern of acquisition of land by the third generation is shown in Fig. 139. Family land passed very unevenly to these groups. For example, in group C, although there were seven other children all land came ultimately to the husband of one daughter (3 to 35). Initially the farm was divided amongst the children.

Table 43. Holdings of Generation III: Group C. *Twins.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	31s	32s	33s	34d	35/36d	37d	38d	Total
Division from parent: 3	¼	¼	¼	¼	45½	¼	¼	49½
Transfers among siblings	-¼	-¼	-¼	-¼	+4	-¼	-¼	4
Total land and max. holding	¼	¼	¼	¼	49½	¼	¼	-
Total land to be passed on	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½
Leasehold	-	-	-	-	49½	-	-	49½

Note: Some of 35's siblings have a little land elsewhere.

In other groups, the demands of each child were more nearly equal, but in none was there a rigid egalitarian sub-division. Even in group B, where all the children received some land, its distribution seems to have been controlled by

need rather than any rigid adherence to the legal issues. All but one of 2's children remained fundamentally within the farming community. The exception (24) married a non-farmer, but even she was given a share of the irrigated land of her mother's portion, presumably to use as a vegetable garden.

Table 44. Holdings of Generation III: Group B. *Tmien.*

s = son; d = daughter.

	21s	22s	23s	24d	25d	26d	27d	Total	Ex. 25d
Division from parent: 2	3	4½	5½	½	1½	11½	7½	34	
Acquired by marriage	7½	3½	-	-	•	2	2	15½	
New tenancies	†32½	11	5	-	n.d.	12½	8½	69½	
Purchase	7½	5	5	-	n.d.	-	-	17½	
Transfers among siblings	-	†22½	-15½	-½	-	-	-6	22½	
Transfers outside family	-	-	-	-	n.d.	-2	-2	-4	
Total land held	50½	46	15½	½	c. 66½	25½	18	c. 223½	156½
Maximum holding size	50½	46	10½	½	c. 66½	25½	18½	c. 218½	151½
Total land to be passed on	50½	46	-	-	c. 66½	23½	10½	c. 196½	130½
Leasehold	43½	41			n.d.	23½	10½		117½
Freehold	20½	5	-	-	n.d.	-	-		12½

•circa 65 *tmien* at Attard. †Of which 11 *tmien* later purchased.

Table 44 shows the distribution of 2's 34 tmien of land, and other data relating to group B. Analysis of this distribution is complicated by the diverse qualities of 2's land holding, especially with regard to irrigated and dry land. But even when allowance is made for this factor, shares cannot be considered equal. The shares of 26 and 27, which passed to their husbands 260 and 270, were inflated by the inclusion of much dry land, but 26 still had a disproportionately large share from her father, perhaps because 260 had little land in his own right (2 *tmien*); the same might also be said of 270. 21 had already halved a tenement with his father (10 *tmien* of his new tenancies) and therefore received only a share of his mother's land, and none of that later added by his father. His brother (22) had a relatively small holding initially but added to it substantially later in life, when he took over the land of some of his brothers and sisters. Similar divisions are apparent in groups D and E.

Of their generation, group B were the most assiduous in adding to land holdings by purchase and new tenancies. Had it not been for their low fertility (23, 24 and 26 had no children, though all were married) they would have dominated the family in later generations. It will have been noticed that much care was taken that 2's children should have a share in their mother's land, while land later added by the father was distributed more partially. The mother's land comes into the family essentially for the use of herself and her children and where there are no children it must be returned eventually to her family. Similar logic applies to land or use of land *inherited* by the father, as is exemplified by 260's 2 *tmien* which, when it became clear that 260 and his wife would not produce issue, was given to his sister for her children. In contrast to some of his brothers and sisters, 22 had a large, vigorous, agriculturally-minded family and this, no doubt, stimulated him into adding to his initially relatively small holding, for not only would his children's labour permit him to expand but also their future welfare would demand it.

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (*J.* p.342') of a full-time mixed farmer holding 33 *tmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region C XX a, the Mqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands. 311 435 [427]

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mouldboard ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks'; no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *tmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Żabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!' 177 241 407

234 *J* - With a holding of over 42 *tmien* in 26 plots, half of which is rough grazing, and with 2 *tmien* permanently under potatoes, this farmer is able to supply most of the fodder requirements of his 46 goats and kids, and 100 head of poultry as well as a few cows, sheep and horses. This land costs some £23 in rent. This farmer obtains a gross profit (receipts minus fodder costs) of some 14s. a day from sales of milk. At this level he, like many of his type, is aware of the crude economics of the situation and of the need for relating feed to livestock needs. Even so, readiness to experiment is confined to those sectors in which the farmer is able to base production on traditional knowledge and his own and family's uncosted labour. In Gozo, remoteness from the main milk market in the Maltese conurbation strengthens the general herdsmen's reluctance to use relatively novel milch cows.

[427] [434]

Farmers who are mainly producers of cows' milk are, *ipso facto*, economically more sophisticated than goat herdsmen. Even so, the range is considerable, particularly great since most of these 'dairy farmers' also rely on arable farming to a varying extent. Thus case-study:-

K - is of a working partnership of two friends who keep some 40 cattle in Regions C XX b, Luqa-Zejtun and C XX e, Delimara. Untypically, they hold some 100 *tmien* of land, much of which is wasteland grazing on Defence Department land. The complexity and obscurity of their claims to much of the land reflects the rather unorganised pattern of production. Since they have land, they grow the standard cash-crop - potatoes - and vegetable crops for domestic consumption. About two-thirds of the cultivated area is given over to fodder crops - wheat, barley and sulla. This, together with a truck-load of prickly pear each day and cake and beans fed to capacity, suffices for the cows. The cultivators' answer when questioned on production costs is '*Min jaf?*' - 'who knows?', and they are not at all convinced of the need for balanced feeding. Cows are served altogether at the season which would be suitable for goats so that production varies seasonally with a spring and early summer maximum of c. 50 gallons daily and a midwinter negligible minimum. This of course is in inverse relation to the Mediterranean plant growing season and, as noted earlier, accentuates the seasonal fluctuation normal with goats' milk. Significantly, the families drink goats' milk in preference to cows' although some of the former is sold. Such farmers, although operating on a fairly large scale, are almost perpetually in debt and rarely have much capital.

By contrast one may find the type of producer already referred to on p. 329, case-study:-

L - This farmer, although with relatively few cattle, is an efficient and highly developed type by Maltese standards. The half of his cultivated land devoted to fodder crops supplies half of the fodder requirements of the 13 stall-fed cattle. The remainder, including beans and cakes, costs him some £1,000 per annum. Receipts from milk sales come to c. £1,350 per annum. This farmer, becoming interested in the possibilities of cattle-breeding, puts most of his not inconsiderable capital directly into the livestock. Arable crops, particularly potatoes and onions, bring in good gross returns but, as with fodder production, are becoming increasingly regarded as uneconomic. This in spite of the fact that the only financial records kept relate to milk sales, fodder purchases, land transactions and buildings. With farmers such as this, one finds an irrational blend of conservatism and a readiness to try new ideas such as artificial insemination and balanced feeding.

[434]

234 241 6. MIXED FARMERS

Lastly there are the mixed farmers, which in Malta and Gozo usually means farmers who for one reason or another have neither become very reliant on the 'milk-cheque' nor are able to grow irrigated or specialised crops. These farmers, usually middle-aged, have little capital, a modicum of enterprise and reasonable dry-land but the lack of agricultural interest shown by their sons discourages much development. They tend to be opportunist in outlook and fairly

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

few years. In 1880 the new confraternity dedicated an altar in the church to its patron, and by 1886 some persons were beginning to grumble about having to pay for another feast. There was a feeling of 'you collect for your feast, and we'll collect for ours.' 175 578 621 79

In 1888 an incident occurred which changed the course of the rivalry between the supporters of the two saints, which until then appears to have been rather mild. Dun Rokku, who was the procurator of the parish church, tried to increase the rent on some of the local property it owned. There was an outcry, and some persons went to the Bishop to complain that not only had Dun Rokku been diverting parish funds to buy new street decorations for the feast of St. Roque, but he was also raising rents to continue this work. The complaints resulted in an investigation, following which the procura of the church was taken from Dun Rokku and given to a prominent member of the village, who favoured St. Martin. This action, not surprisingly, infuriated Dun Rokku. From that day onward, so the accounts relate, he threw his full support openly behind the feast of St. Roque. [427]

Some time after this, the partiti each formed their own social clubs. According to St. Martin supporters, their club grew out of a pre-existing band club, but that of their rivals was not established until after the First World War. They thus consider that they have seniority. St. Roque partisans, on the other hand, deny this seniority. They maintain that both clubs came into being out of the former club around the turn of the century. Consequently they have equal seniority. However, both clubs claim that the records crucial to the question of seniority were destroyed by enemy action during the last war. There is thus no documentary evidence for either claim, a fact which makes for deadlock whenever the issue of seniority is raised. 175 575 621

Dun Rokku was a strongminded priest, and he ruled the village for fifty-six years. When he finally died in 1932 at the age of 90, he was blind and deaf. During his many years in the parish he did much to beautify the church. Unfortunately, so people recount, he also introduced the hated partiti that divided the village. Through a variety of means at the disposal of a parish priest, he succeeded in wooing or coercing three-fourths of the village into his partit. There are many stories about the old man and the methods he used to recruit supporters. One is that he would make it difficult for people to marry unless they were, or became, members of the 578 621 79

241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against 30.
474 exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta
407 in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. One of the earliest
[427] tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a
[422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can
[654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case - XVII).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case - XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).

The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job [461] which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

407 (ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
461 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
464 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements (Case - XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far [221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases - XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
427 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
[434] advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

407 Many of the large tractor ploughing concerns described
472 above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partner-
474 ship. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellieha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 These two projects are attempts which, if successful,
474 may be followed by the setting up of other similar
648 co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join
● [429] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellieha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat
474 unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

*159
423

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1935...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-5-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.		Plots		Plots
Church (Cathedral (Mdina).....	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
Church (Ghaxb.....	1-0-3	4		
Church (Benefizzju (agent).....	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government.....	3-5-0	2		
Other farmers.....	4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron).....	5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself.....	4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own.....	24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities.....	0		0	
No information.....			3-0	1
Notary (agent).....			1-5-0	2
	42-5-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility.....	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility.....	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility.....	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance.....	16-0-0
Exchanged.....	1-2-8
	20-3-8

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●427

On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, coat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

*159
234
311
[246]

Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

[244]

*159 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs
512 and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.
794 Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his
592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they
178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to
*159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a consider-
423 able land holding.)

● 427 A. Land.

[311] - Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.

- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 B. Utilisation.
423
311

	1956	1957	1958
House	⅛	⅛	⅛
Vines	⅛	⅛	⅛
Prickly pear	⅛	⅛	⅛
Fodders	8½	10½	14½
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅝
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)
231
38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 D. Capital.
401
- Land all rented save one small plot.
[427] - Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk
[456] production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 E. Labour.
464
- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.
433
- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional
[434] small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 234 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than [246] to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners of often unsuitable space.

*159 241 433 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 434 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant ● [427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Guzepp. Rents for 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land (generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer, whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common [241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more [433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli) because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately avoided.

*159 438 443 Guzepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid this by selling some of his produce directly in the local village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

*159 511 829 178 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for entertainment is practically nil and his children are not yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which one foresees they will do. Guzepp is very anxious to enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that Guzepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
241 cult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
178 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
367 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
[427] £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer. Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
54 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
461 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
654 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contri-
[426] bution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

[P 86]

*159 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed
443 annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra
●[427] Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] - Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley,
[311] sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

[231] C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] (i) No freehold land.
[454] (ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
[412] (iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical
[407] equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid
[426] at £62 p.a.
[427] - Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464] - No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] (i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily
[43] which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
[231] - Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] (ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100.
[434] Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
[244] - In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

* 159 443 484 521 Shopping is done in the local village but Marsa makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti' Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

* 159 423 **A. Land.**

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

* 159 241 311 **B. Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under forfir (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

* 159 231 **C. Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

* 159 [423] [454] [412] [407] **D. Capital.**

- Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
- According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

* 159 464 **E. Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- [427] Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

* 159 433 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and wool
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

* 159 241 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annually
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prevents the employment of the normal four-year rotation

159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anglu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

159 198 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anglu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anglu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

159 427 **CASE V : Summary.**

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

600 authorities each year.

*159 494 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in [454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 ●[429] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

The family has occupied the present house for several generations and has acquired the street name as a family nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even semi-official, mode of reference though not of address, when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a prominent member of the community in his part of the village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an active supporter of the local football club and a regular cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially to the goats which he will keep "because we have always had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice. He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods". He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time and labour thus expended would bring no additional return to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures) would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

(A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

A. Land.

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

159 829 178 [246] For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 427 **A. Land.**

- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

159 24 **B. Utilisation.**

- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

159 23 234

- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

159 [454] **D. Capital.**

- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[461]

- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] [234]

- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

159 23 **G. Husbandry.**

(1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

[427]

- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jun. to Aug.

[311]

- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.

- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly 2 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

[435]

- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemol according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.

[434]

- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

159 156 **H. General.**

- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
[231] - Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)

*159 472 [423] [234]

Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 acres and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 472 234 433

The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 407 454 234 [429]

Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

159 23 234 **C. Livestock.**

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.
(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.
(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

159 [472] **D. Capital.**

(i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

E. Labour.

159 464 407 427 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).
(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.
(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.
(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

F. Production and Sales.

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 198 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. [429] 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the Gozitan milk producer, Case I.

The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle within the current artificial economy of milk production. There is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġanri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

Ġanri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is however centred on the land holding which he and his brother work in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġanri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġanri's father.

The working partnership of the two brothers is of many years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilised as follows:

Fruit and vines.....	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders.....	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let.....	13 tmien
Potatoes.....	6 tmien
Other vegetables.....	5 tmien

Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall success of any year depends on them. They were introduced to the district by Ġanri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġanri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġanri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

Since 1953 Ġanri and his brother have expanded their area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
198 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and
423 engaged in diversified production.)
(Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 **A. Land.**

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Għajnsielem, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

159 **B. Utilisation.**
241

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9 tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9 "
Potatoes	6.2 "
Other vegetables	4.9 "
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6 "
	62.5 tmien

159 **C. Livestock.**
231

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

159 **D. Capital.**
423

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
454 (ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.
159 (iv) - Equipment:
409 - Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
427 - Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on Ô's personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tonna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tonna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tonna.

E. Labour.

*159 464 - Ô's 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.

- Flexible use of this labour force as:

(a) Joint holding worked by partners and Ô's nephew.
(b) Land held by Ô, deriving from wife's family, farmed by Ô and eldest nephew.
(c) Land held by Ô's brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461 - A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

- (a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On Ô's own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tonna.

*159 434 241 F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From Ô's land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
Ô's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434 - This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.

- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tonna, fruit £28 per tonna,

CASE XI : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

A. Land.

423 (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields
●429 in Wallicha District. 2 tmien freehold.

(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation. With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Bulbs, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and
[485] freehold house in the village.

[454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E. Estimated possible total less than £100.

[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.

[474] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section
[241] 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-ploughing: shallow-ploughing at 10s per tomna and deep-ploughing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.

[464] - Rarely hires labour.

[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as over it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increas-
[626] ing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
[177] that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
[794] the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
the towns. Censu shares the still general view that money
[651] given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)
423
A. Land.
● 427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils
and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation.
241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.
231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves,
234 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats;
1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.
[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evi-
dence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[409] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 E. Labour.
464 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and
female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[427] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
241 threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[409] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generations, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance. He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily - because of the same factors. - This is itself discouraging the younger farming generation from staying on the land and struggling against rising costs to sell products which are but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)
423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] - Soils: i-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

[241] - Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

459 - No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
422 - Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
423 - Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

464 - Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
[465] - Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

181 241 829 road of successful experiments of one kind or another in a foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

*159 407 422 ●429 472 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They have (1958):

(i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

[146]

*159 156 Ġanni and the village.

Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

#159 472 407 477 They appear to have been among the first in the trade 'business' and note that when they started there were only some half dozen large tractors already in use in Malta.

When the original tractor was imported along with a trailing plow it was found very difficult to negotiate the tortuous Maltese country tracks. They have since shortened the fitment and adapted it for carriage high above the ground in transit. Unlike CASE XIV these brothers maintain that the 'crawling' type of tractor is better suited to Maltese conditions than is the wheeled as it can cope more easily with rough ground and with mud.

Although they have no competitors in the immediate vicinity, they complain that:

(i) The introduction of the small hand rotary cultivator in recent years has caused a set-back in their business. It is clearly a less unwieldy implement for many small or narrow fields than is the large tractor and one which is cheap enough for a farmer to purchase fairly easily. However the brothers have increased the variety of special fitments which they can operate with their tractors and have thus to some extent retained their business.

(ii) There are at present too many large tractors for the work available. The brothers would be pleased if several of them would go out of business.

CASE XVI

Two brothers have three wheeled tractors, a threshing machine and two rotary cultivators. Holding only some three acres of land themselves they depend primarily on their tractor-hire business which they began, with a single tractor, shortly before the 1939-45 War. At present business is declining for the reasons mentioned in CASE XV. One of the brothers insists that the Government should prohibit the import of any more tractors into the Island in an effort to reduce the competition. As for rotary cultivators they observe that these implements can be used almost all the year round and are better suited for general cultivation work than is the tractor-drawn deep plow.

CASE XVII

A plowman with two large tractors (both 'caterpillar' tracked and one converted into a bulldozer), this Case illustrates some further points. He acquired his first machine early in the 1939-45 War and has built up his business so successfully that he now farms only a single acre himself relying for his income on the profits of the short plowing season and on his contract work throughout the year with his bull-dozer. His area of operation stretches from St. Paul's Bay in the north of Malta to Benghajsa in the extreme south, where he works for at least two full weeks per year. He also hires his threshing machine in widely scattered parts of the Island. This occupies him for some two months each summer. [429]

His major complaints are (i) the high price of diesel oil, and (ii) the fact that tractor operators are forbidden by law to drive their machines on public highways. On the question of 'over-lap' between contractors he wants the Government to delimate areas of operation for each man, an impracticable suggestion which would, he imagines, remove the necessity for his having to seek work at great distances from his village. His attitude on this point contrasts with his desire to import a new threshing machine as soon as possible.

CASE XVIII

In this case, a farmer works his tractor-hire business in conjunction with a friend. He bought a Chalmers tractor shortly before 1939 and has recently acquired a second machine - an Olivier. The area which he and his partner work with their tractors and 14" plow has become more limited of late on account of the increased use of rotary cultivators, especially as these are often user-owned.